IV.—NON-OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

Resolutions.

Mr. PRESIDENT :—" Government business is now over and the House will now take up non-official business. Diwan Bahadur R. Srinivasan who has given notice of the first resolution[a] on the agenda is not in his place."

Sri Rao Bahadur M. RAMAN :—" He will be coming presently, Sir."

Mr. PRESIDENT :—" I understand that he has intimated to the Secretary that he is not moving his resolution. So it shall be deemed to have been withdrawn. Mr. Saldanha will move his resolution."

(1) REPRESENTATION OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS IN THE SERVICES.

* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—" Mr. President, I beg to move the following resolution which stands in my name :—

> ' *This Council recommends to the Government that necessary steps should be taken to increase the representation of Indian Christians in the services in proportion to their advance in education and culture.*'

Sir, I have ventured to move this resolution in order to stress the fact that the communal Government Order is too slow in its operation in the case of Indian Christians. We are thankful that the Government have recognized the great advance we have made in education and culture. We have attained that stage only at the sacrifice of the best of our men and of the flower of our womanhood and so much of our money at the altar of education. When I say the flower of our womanhood, some of you may be surprised, but you will have only to look around and see the convents in which hundreds of our sisters are sacrificing themselves for the purpose of education by giving up the world, to realize the force of what I have said. Our literacy standard is very high as compared with that of other communities except Brahmans. It is 18 to 25 per cent. It was 18 per cent in 1931

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[a] Sri Diwan Bahadur R. SRINIVASAN :—

This Council recommends to the Government to give wide publicity by beat of tom-tom in all castemen villages and every group of scheduled castes hamlets, to the G.O. No. 2660, L. & M., dated 25th September 1924, and sections 126-A, 157-A and 167 of the Local Boards Act, and sections 180, 180-A, 227-A and 259 of the District Municipalities Act, declaring that there is no objection to any person or persons belonging to any class or community walking through any public road, street or pathway, that there is no objection to any person belonging to the depressed classes having access to the premises of any public office, well, tank or places of public resort or market or to places and buildings where public business is transacted, in the same manner and to the same extent as persons belonging to the community of caste Hindus in the country and that any person causing obstruction to any other person in the use and enjoyment of the above amenities, is liable to be punished with a fine which may extend up to Rs. 100.

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and now nearly a decade has passed and there must have been some increase. I think we may say confidently that it will stand at 18 to 25 per cent as compared with 50 to 60 per cent among Brahmans, 8 to 10 per cent among other Hindus and 5 per cent among Mussalmans and 3 per cent among Harijans. Therefore, as a matter of justice, under the communal Government Order we are considered as entitled to one-sixth of the appointments in the public service. It is only that proportion that will give us the same proportion as the Brahmans and the Mussalmans. The Harijans have to get 1/12 of the appointments and the non-Brahman Hindus have to get 5/12 of the appointments. The Government have been publishing communal returns of officers serving under them on 1st April each year from 1924 onwards. The last returns were for the years 1924 to 1937. Now, Sir, those returns show that there has been a gradual increase in the number of appointments from amongst Indian Christians, but the rise has been rather slow in the case of gazetted appointments; the increase has been from 1/16 to 1/12. In the case of non-gazetted appointments above Rs. 100 the increase has been from 1/18 to 1/10. In the case of appointments above Rs. 35 and below Rs. 100 the increase has been from 1/20 to 1/14. In the case of appointments below Rs. 35 the increase is from 1/28 to 1/25. These are very small increases for a period of fourteen years from 1924 to 1938 while the position of the one community well advanced is as strong as ever in the services."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" May I know what these fractions 1/28, 1/14, etc., are?"

* MR. J. A. SALDANHA:—" I have taken the total number of appointments sanctioned and the number of appointments made from among Indian Christians. For instance, 1/28 means 1/28 of the total number of appointments sanctioned. I am not a good arithmetician, Sir, but on the whole the figures show that the increase from 1924 to 1938 has been exceedingly small. Now I will come to the last two years. I have been trying to get the returns for the last year but in vain. The Government have not published any return for the last year. In the old times, they used to publish the returns every year. They were called annual returns. I have had some correspondence with the Government on this matter and I have been told that the returns will be published in October this year. I made enquiries about 12–15 p.m. the appointments in the Revenue and Judicial departments in South Kanara. I find that in our district our position has considerably deteriorated. I have taken the figures relating to appointments of clerks in civil courts. The figures show that in the civil courts in South Kanara, there were 23 appointments in April 1937 on Rs. 35 to 100. Now, they are only 9. In the Revenue department, for the last two years the position of the community has become worse.

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"On behalf therefore of my community, I feel that this hon. House should consider my resolution sympathetically. I only ask for justice and equity to our community and you know, Sir, how much our community—our people, our nuns, priests, etc.—are working for the uplift of all classes of the community. I have got many relations, who are nuns and sisters, who are sacrificing their lives for educating all classes of people in the schools. We are also producing graduates and our literacy stands very high, 18 to 25 per cent in the Presidency. It is the highest in the Presidency. But we are far below the Brahmans who are about 50 per cent literate. They deserve the weightage given to them. Two appointments, out of twelve, are given to them. Even now, Brahmans hold a high position against other communities and their position is growing stronger and stronger. They are getting more appointments, because they have got more graduates. Even for petty appointments, Brahman graduates go in. Our community and other communities do not care to take up such appointments; they consider it *infra dig* to accept such appointments. Our position is deteriorating. The question is how to mend the present state of things. This is a matter which requires careful consideration. I appeal to the Hon. Prime Minister and other Ministers and also to the House to pass this resolution which is necessary for the aspirations of our community. I do not want to take up the time of the House further. I hope the Government as well as the House will give sympathetic consideration to our aspirations."

* SRI RAO BAHADUR M. RAMAN:—"Sir, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution of my hon. Friend, Mr. Saldanha. I have got to say only one word. Mr. Saldanha said that the communal Government Order was moving slowly. I do not agree with him. It is moving rapidly in some respects but in the backward direction."

* SRI T. A. RAMALINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"Sir, I am only rising to point out the difficulties of accepting a motion like this. We have been saying that certain communities have had certain advantages in the beginning and that they have gone in advance and are holding positions of responsibility much more than other communities. We claim that other communities also should be given their chances; they should be allowed to advance and take their proper place in the country. For this purpose, certain adjustments have been made. Whether those adjustments can satisfy the conditions now existing or whether they are sufficient is a matter which may be viewed from different standpoints. There is the policy that those communities which are lagging behind should be supported and that they should have an increased share in the administration of the country. Of course I should say that the administration of the country does

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not merely mean jobs and getting employment. It means so many other things. The services influence the administration of the departments and if the administration is to go on properly, there ought to be proper representation of the interests concerned, in laying down the principles of administration and in carrying them out. No doubt it is also an advantage to the community getting the jobs. Therefore the claims of various communities should not be forgotten. It is also an economic question. People therefore want that the largest employer, the Government, should distribute the jobs among the various communities. Every community and every interest should have its due share and its legitimate share in deciding policies and carrying them out. For the purpose of giving chances to those who are lagging behind, certain rules of a temporary character have to be made and there should be an equitable arrangement. What is proposed now is to go back upon the whole policy which has been followed for some years now. Mr. Saldanha does not want to stop with that. He would have suggested that the communal Government Order should go and that everybody should be allowed his chance. In more than one portion of his speech, he said that his community was not the leading community. If the arguments advanced by him are correct, there is a community which would be entitled to very much better treatment. He said that his community was getting two places out of twelve according to the list. The Brahman community was certainly more leading. There are more educated people in that community. On the ground he has mentioned and on the ground of their education and culture, they would be entitled to very much better treatment than getting only two appointments out of 12. He has asked not for taking away the restriction which exists now. He wants the restriction should be so adapted as to give his community a better treatment than it gets at present.

" We have to see what exactly his proposal is. He does not want that the communal representation should be taken away altogether and that each person should be allowed to take his chance. That is not the proposal that is before the House. He does not want that the jobs should be redistributed on the basis of education and culture alone. That is not his ground at all. If that was his ground, one can understand its logic. That is not the ground for his present move. He wants, Sir, that on account of education and culture, his community should be given greater predominance. What will be the result? The result will be the biggest community in the Province will suffer. The non-Brahman Hindus are 35 to 37 millions strong out of 42 millions in the population. If offices were to be distributed on the basis of population alone, the community should be entitled to something like 8 or 9 appointments out of 12. But as a matter of fact, under the arrangement that is made under the communal Government

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Order, the community is entitled to get only 5 out of 12 appointments. Now, if my hon. Friend, Mr. Saldanha is going to get more, from where is it to be taken?"

MR. J. A. SALDANHA:—" On a matter of personal explanation, Sir. I want the Government to stick to the communal Government Order. I do not want the proportion to be increased. What I want is that the proportion fixed should be reached. The proportion of 2 out of 12 appointments has not been reached. Two out of 12 appointments are very low. Out of 12, we have got not even two appointments at present. That is my contention."

* SRI T. A. RAMALINGAM CHETTIYAR:—" Mr. Saldanha says he does not want to take away the proportion which the majority community has got. If the Brahman gentlemen want to make out a case on account of their education and culture, they will have a very good case for better treatment. My hon. Friend, Mr. Saldanha, wants better treatment. Scheduled classes are not well represented and they would ask for more jobs. Then I do not know where the majority community will be. It will be in the same position as the Hindu community in Bengal, where the Muhammadan gentlemen are assured of their percentage. Their claims have been made and settled. The result is that the Hindus suffer. That will be the position of the non-Brahman Hindus who have come in under so many strictures from various quarters for the last so many years for asking for equal communal representation. It does not seem to have helped them very much. It seems to me that this sort of claim by the Indian Christian community does not make the position of the non-Brahman community safe. I do not think it can really be argued that the Indian Christian community should receive better treatment than what they get, i.e., two out of twelve.

" I will mention only one more matter with reference to my hon. Friend, Mr. Saldanha's speech. He said that his community had about 23 or 25 appointments in the past in one office and that now it has only 7 or 9. According to population, his community should be entitled to only 9 or 10 appointments at the present moment. It so happens that that community has got only that number. It is a regrettable circumstance that the number has come down to 10. If the same sort of claim is made by everybody, I do not know where we will be."

12-30 p.m. * THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—" Mr. President, the resolution is that the Council should recommend to the Government that necessary steps should be taken to increase the representation of Indian Christians in the services in proportion to their advance in education and culture.

" In moving the resolution, I take it that he has not altered or amended the proposition as it stood on the agenda paper. He

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recommends to the Council to accept the principle that representation in the services, as it is called, of various communities should be in accordance with their education and culture—a very dangerous proposition which would completely overturn the entire communal Government Order from a different angle. It would mean an advance made by Mr. Saldanha to the Brahman community to join hands and to press, not for representation on the ground of population but representation on the ground of education and culture in the public service according to the results, we may take it, of university examinations and school final examinations and so on. I should submit, Sir, that this principle underlying Mr. Saldanha's proposition is so wholly and totally opposed to the communal principle and the communal proportion—the communal ratio—that it is difficult to mix up the two together. Mr. Saldanha argues, 'Stick to the communal Government Order but give me my proportion in accordance with the standards of education and culture reached by my young men.' It is a difficult thing to perform, at least without shutting one's eyes to one side of the picture and keeping one's eyes wide open, but only to another side of the picture. It is not possible to do so, unless we look only at the Indian Christian community and not at the other communities in the population which have advanced similarly in education and culture; it is a wrong and impossible thing for public men to do any such thing. We cannot really give effect to this proposition keeping the communal rule or the communal proportion intact. I do not suppose that Mr. Saldanha wants that this Government should initiate the abolition of the communal rule, whether it be proportion or rotation or ratio; if he does not want to abolish it, I must at once say that there is no use shilly-shallying with the proposal. I must say it is an impossible thing that he is proposing if he wants to keep up the communal rotation or the communal proportion intact. It is impossible to give representation, as it is called, to all the various communities in the public service in proportion to their advance in education and culture.

"Now, Sir, as for the grievance, let me explain to the hon. Member that he is suffering under a complex of inaccurate facts. There is no deterioration; he has advanced, his community is progressing further and further; but he has somehow convinced himself that it is in a very bad way and therefore he is moving in this Council a resolution for this purpose. Let me give him the facts; but before I do so, let me draw his attention to this. He says, 'Here in a certain place or in a certain department, there were eight clerks last year; I find they have now become six—that is deterioration. Again, here in my own district, I knew that nine people were in a particular department, but to-day they are only seven—that, again, is deterioration. Yes. It is possible, because we cannot fix the proportion for every unit, every year,

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every department, and in that way fill the country with units in every inch consisting of all the communities; you would not be able practically to give effect to such a scheme. I read the other day, and much to my amusement I read it, though the author was most serious in that communication, that if he took the Prime Minister's place, it was 100 per cent Brahman in the services. I read it actually; it was actually in print. It is quite possible to make out an absurd case like that; but that is not the point now. We cannot take or begin things in pieces like that, and put in a rule of convenience or expediency which has been accepted by previous Governments with reference to communal rotation or communal proportion and try to reduce it to an absurdity by trying to introduce it in each department, in each area and each unit. No doubt, if I were mischievously inclined I could do so with a view to expose the absurdity of the whole thing, but that is not the way honestly to work out even a principle of expediency, though it may not be the correct thing. Let us be practical men and let us see whether there is any real injustice. Let me give the figures now.

" Mr. Saldanha was saying that these things have not been published. Here is a list that we are publishing every year; a whole book of something like 72 pages of tables giving with meticulous accuracy the number in each community, the year, the proportion and everything. This is in fact a book to keep up the psychology of communal separation and division for ever. This is a book which has that effect; but it is being published. And if Mr. Saldanha or any other member wants to read it, they may pore over these pages of small type, with all kinds of figures. In fact this is the Bible in this respect, and it is supplied to every one. Let me give the latest figures and let me ask the patience of the House to see where the Indian Christian community, and in passing, where certain other communities also, stand in regard to this matter. Is there any real grievance or reason in this continual cry of something wrong done by this Government and by this Premier? "

MR. J. A. SALDANHA :—" In what year was it published; up to what year does it contain information? "

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :—" He will presently hear. I am now reading from the tables only the grand totals:

' Non-gazetted officers on less than Rs. 35—

In 1924, Indian Christians, 1,988.

In 1938, Indian Christians, 2,724.

We ought to know something about others; let us begin at the bottom; let us have their figures also in passing:

In 1924, scheduled classes, 1,073.

In 1938, scheduled classes, 1,905.

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It may not be much of an advance, but there is an advance—no deterioration anyway—and if I round off the figures, the increase is from 1,000 to 2,000.

"Again, non-gazetted officers on Rs. 35 and upwards, but below Rs. 100. First of all, let us take the classes to which the proposition refers:

In 1924, Indian Christians, 1 003.
In 1938, Indian Christians, 1,534.

No deterioration anyway. Mark you, Sir, I do not take any credit for this phenomenon; this cannot be done by any one man; it goes throughout the whole Province, all the offices and all the departments; they all accumulate and these results are now available at the end. It is no credit to anybody; it is just the existing state of facts that I am giving. Let it not be thought that I am claiming any credit for it; even if I had done it, I do not want to claim any credit for this.

"Then, the actual figures for the scheduled classes are 56 in 1924 and 137 in 1938, in respect of non-gazetted officers on Rs. 35 and above, but below Rs. 100. Again, in respect of non-gazetted officers on Rs. 100 and over;

'In 1924, Indian Christians, 425.
In 1938, Indian Christians, 797.'

Is that deterioration? Then, Muhammadans:

'In 1924, Muhammadans, 317.
In 1938, Muhammadans, 454.'

I need not bother hon. Members with these figures. I will now go on to the scheduled classes:

'In 1924, scheduled classes, 2.
In 1938, scheduled classes, 27.'

Coming now to gazetted officers,

'In 1924, Indian Christians, 105.
In 1938, Indian Christians, 142.'

As we go higher and higher up, the number rises up. No doubt it is all mere accident; they have all got up by their labour, by their fitness for promotion—105 to 142 is no deterioration. That is all I claim, Sir. Similarly, Muhammadans, from 57 to 104 and scheduled classes, from 1 to 7."

* MR. J. A. SALDANHA:—"I pointed out that there was an increase from 1924 to April 1937. But I have not got the returns after that, although I asked for them. From 1937, there has been a deterioration."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"From 1924 to 1937 it is admitted that there has been an upward march; and the hon. Member says there has been deterioration after 1937. Is that the complaint? Then he should not call it deterioration if it is only for one year. He cannot fancy; the word that he actually used was 'deterioration'."

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MR. J. A. SALDANHA :—" I referred only to my own district of South Kanara."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :—" Then I say it is an extraordinarily unfair thing to the Government. As I suggested, we cannot take up district by district; I do not vouch for the accuracy of these figures if they are to be taken by the districts. It is really wrong to apply these figures to one office, one department or one district, with reference to the communal rule and make a statement on the floor of the House that such and such community has not got the proportion . . ."

MR. J. A. SALDANHA :—" But the Government have not supplied us with these lists."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :—" Let me again read the figures for 1937. Indian Christians on less than Rs. 35 in 1937 : 90. In 1938, the figure was 118."

MR. J. A. SALDANHA :—" What about gazetted officers? "

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :—" If the hon. Member will give me more time, I will make a complete list with their names and fathers' names too. It is not possible, in giving statistical figures for four crores of people in Madras in a Second Chamber, to give particular appointments, particular districts, particular places and all that; it is impossible; but let me say that the principle which the hon. Member stands for is not a principle to be applied to particular appointments. Particular men are fit for particular appointments, particular men come up near particular appointments, and they have to be chosen willy-nilly; but I think we may get a statistical forecast if we take a large number of people, a large area, a large department and a large number of departments. We cannot possibly satisfy the communal appetite by taking particular places, particular men, or particular offices. Let me continue to verify the statement made by the hon. Member as to deterioration from 1937 to 1938 and find out whether there is any truth in it, and if there is, how far it is true. I have not read the list before; I take it that the whole thing is working properly; I assume it—honestly, I say I have not read it--because I am certain that there is nobody working with any motive to bring about such a result; and because there is no motive or cause, there is no effect also. It is on that assumption that I am proceeding to read
12-45 p.m. this list for the first time. Then, non-gazetted officers on less than Rs. 35 in 1937 were 90 and in 1938 the figure was 118. As regards Indian Christians, non-gazetted officers drawing Rs. 35 and up to Rs. 100, the figure was 1,511 in 1937, while it was 1,534 in 1938. We cannot raise a crop at all times and so, from 1,511 to 1,534 it is not deterioration. Then in the next stage, i.e., non-gazetted officers getting Rs. 100 and over, Indian Christians 758 in 1937 and 797 in 1938; again, Sir, I underline the words ' no deterioration.'

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"In regard to gazetted officers, Indian Christians, it was 142 in 1937 and 142 in 1938—no increase, but still no deterioration."

"Sir, I do not propose to read the figures for 1937 and 1938 with reference to the scheduled classes because that will be interpreted to mean that I attempt to deflect the issue before the House, but if Mr. Saldanha won't grudge I shall read it."

MR. J. A. SALDANHA:—"I do not grudge, Sir."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"Then I shall read it.

'Scheduled classes—

Gazetted officers—	
1937	4
1938	7
Non-gazetted officers on Rs. 100 and over—	
1937	16
1938	27
Non-gazetted officers between Rs. 35 and Rs. 100—	
1937	117
1938	137'

No deterioration again, Sir.

"Then in regard to those non-gezetted officers on less than Rs. 35—Scheduled classes—the number was 28 in 1937 and 36 in 1938. These do not include constables and the like."

MR. J. A. SALDANHA:—"What about Brahmans?

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR:—"What about Brahmans? What about Ayyangars? What about Vadagalai Ayyangars? All such things will come in. But, the issue here is about Indian Christians. As Mr. Ramalingam Chettiyar has stated—a knowledge of the elements of algebra would show that—when there is a rise in one particular community, there cannot possibly be a rise in the number of the other communities. If it is wanted, I shall of course read the figures about Brahmans and how they go down, because I do not suppose that the Brahman community would have got more of it according to communal proportion than they could have got under the old regime; I mean, they are worse than that; that is their feeling, I know. Does the hon. Member know it? If he wants I can read the figures, but it will be irritating to Brahmans and so I do not want to read it.

"I said, Sir, it does not include constables. Since 15th July 1937, 907 constables have been appointed and out of them 137 belong to the scheduled classes. However, that is not relevant but since the hon. Member referred to the matter I read it. So that, Sir, judged from any angle, there has been no deterioration with regard to the justice or fairness or whatever else it may be called that ought to be exercised in favour of the Indian Christians in regard to appointments to public services. This cry it is easy to raise, because there are a number of other disabilities in the world and there are a number of disabilities in social life, but if only a

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thing like this is also said, it is easily believed, it is spread easily, and multiplied and printed and read and it creates bad blood on the basis of falsehood; if on the other hand bad blood is created, by all means let it be created by reality, because it does not help a public man to create bad blood under any circumstance. Even wrongs should be tolerated . . ."

* MR. J. A. SALDANHA :—" I regret that the Hon. Prime Minister has used the word 'falsehood.' No doubt figures were published by Government for 1937 and 1938, but I referred to the deterioration in my own district; and why should I attribute any falsehood? "

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :—" I have not attributed any falsehood to the hon. Member; if it is wrong, then I shall withdraw. But, since the hon. Member was saying that there has been deterioration in figures under this or that head, I had to read all possible figures and from them I have shown that there has been no deterioration of any kind. Then the last ditch at which Mr. Saldanha defends himself is that in some particular district or office he has noticed this deterioration and therefore he said it. I acquit him of bad intentions, but I cannot acquit him of carelessness in making statements with regard to deterioration on the floor of this House, when as a matter of fact, figures are all here. If his complaint is that 1938 figures were not supplied to him at the time he made that estimate with regard to deterioration . . ."

MR. J. A. SALDANHA :—" I could not get it."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR :—" Up to 1937, Mr. Saldanha admits there has been no deterioration; he also says he did not get figures for 1938; therefore can he say, there has been deterioration, though he can say, 'I am in ignorance, I am kept in the dark?' He cannot say the figures are false and the facts are untrue—the word 'false' is perhaps used with reference to men; perhaps that is the reason why he takes exception to the word by which I did not at all intend anything to hurt Mr. Saldanha's feelings. I am sorry he was hurt. What I said was, bad blood was wrong. When the basis for such impression is altogether absent, then to start a statement which would create bad blood, is very wrong. Therefore, I took so much time and trouble to give figures. I thank Mr. Saldanha for giving me an opportunity to make all figures perfectly clear. I do hope no such mistake will be made by anybody in future."

* MR. J. A. SALDANHA :—" Sir, in view of the statement which was made by the Hon. the Prime Minister with reference to the statement which was not before me, I beg to withdraw the resolution, but I hope that in future after the publication of the tables for 1939, I may bring forward a further resolution."

The resolution was, by leave of the House, withdrawn.